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THADDEUS KOŚCIUSZKO

Portrait in oils by Boleslaw Jan Czedekowski. The painting represents Kosciuszko, the hero of two worlds, in the uniform of a general in the American Army during the Revolution, against the background of Fort Clinton at West Point on the Hudson. Czedekowski, a celebrated Polish portrait painter, offered his last work to the Kosciuszko Foundation in New York. It was officially unveiled on September 19, 1947.

SHOWDOWN IN THE U. N. ASSEMBLY

by LISTON

Managing Editor of

WITH the challenging proposals made by Secretary of State George C. Marshall for the radical overhauling of the machinery of the United Nations, a showdown nears between the giants of the present world, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. This session of the UN may prove to be crucial, a turning point in history and in American diplomacy. It may, in fact, decide whether or not we will continue the drift toward World War III.

The basic question is: will the United States and her democratic allies stand firm and fully abandon the disastrous policy of appeasement and will they insist on such drastic change in the UN Charter and procedure that Soviet Russia can no longer abuse the veto to paralyze international action not only to block further Soviet expansion but to force the Russians to retreat from that vast area already conquered?

When the UN Charter was first formulated at San Francisco I wrote in *The New Leader*:

"The UN will be impotent as long as it is merely a loose association of sovereign powers, and as long as one nation can veto any proposed action against aggression. It will be merely a debating society to be exploited for Soviet propaganda. It will not even be the beginning of a real world government: a baby carriage is not the beginning of an airplane.

"Stalin does not want a federal union of nations capable of stopping Soviet imperialism. Stalin seeks to make the UN a caricature of a Parliament of Man, Stalin wants the UN to continue so that nations will be given a false sense of security. Stalin's agents within the UN will work to cripple but not to kill this creature mothered by injustice and fathered by weakness. But it was born with infantile paralysis and will suffer the fate of the League of Nations."

This analysis has been confirmed by subsequent events of the past two tragedy-filled years. Since this prediction was made the Soviet Union has nearly completed the conquest of more than 275,000 square miles, inhabited by 120,000,000, in addition to the Baltic States and other areas actually annexed and also has consolidated dominion over areas in Asia. What happened first in Poland and Yugoslavia has been repeated in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Albania, and Austria and Germany are on the agenda, as well as Finland. Italy and France are threatened by Communist-led strikes which may lead to a *coup de force*; the Scandinavian governments tremble with fear; Turkey and Greece and Iran are menaced. The civil war backed by the Soviet Union in China continues unabated, and Korea, faces civil war. Communists have succeeded in creating chaos where they could not yet gain control. Inexorably Stalin pushes ahead in his plan for world revolution: Communism by conquest has become the rule because nowhere can it win by popular support.

Soviet Russia and her satellites, though desperately in need of American aid, have blocked European reconstruction by rejection of the Marshall Plan. Millions of malnourished men, women and children and hundreds of thousands of those dead by starvation pay the price for Communist conquest and Anglo-American blundering, for continued appeasement, for the failure of the United Nations. The resulting disillusionment has strengthened the trend toward a return to isolationism

in America, and toward weariness in pouring American food and dollars into a bottomless pit.

★ ★ ★

I am in profound disagreement with those who maintain that, with all its faults, the UN is a beginning of a world government. They argue that "it is the best we can get now," that half a loaf is better than no bread at all. I maintain that the UN is not even a quarter of a loaf, not even a crust or crumb upon which anyone can feed his hopes and illusions. It contains no sustenance, no vitamins, no leaven. It is not a start, but a substitute for a world government—a caricature, a mockery, a delusion, a mirage.

Since its establishment the UN has settled none of the conflicts tearing the world apart. Nations are divided asunder more than ever by divergent interests, ideologies, imperialist ambitions. The UN has not resolved, nor as now constituted can ever resolve, any basic international dispute. The structural, organic defects of the UN make this a certainty. The UN is not a cause for hope, but for despair—especially to the peoples of Poland, Yugoslavia, and all the other countries dominated by Soviet Russia and her fifth column. For the Truman Doctrine proposes only to stop Soviet Russia from further conquest, not to liberate those previously enslaved. They are, apparently, abandoned to the ruthlessness of the new tzars of the Russian Empire, far more cruel than the Romanoffs ever dared to be.

Fifty-one sovereign nations agreed to sign the Charter, but any one of them can break this "treaty" at any time, because their sovereignty is guaranteed by it. Only "honor" obliges any power to be bound by the decisions of the UN, and history bears abundant witness as to what happens when national honor and national inter-

OR CRISIS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

M. OAK

The New Leader

ests are opposed. Even the honor of democratic Britain was besmirched when, in the amoral game of power politics, expediency collided with promises and principles.

The Security Council cannot give us security, nor can the Assembly give us international laws, and the Council could not enforce them if they were created. The Assembly is a debating society, and it is improbable that Marshall's proposals will give it real power. A debating society has its values, as Woodrow Wilson once said of the League of Nations, but are not to be confused with lawmaking bodies. Thus far the Assembly has been unable even to make rules for its own procedure and the conduct of its members.

Each nation has, theoretically, the same authority in the Assembly. Tiny Luxembourg and Iran have the same voting strength as the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. But since the big powers will not give the more numerous small nations real authority to outvote them, the majority of mankind is subjected by the UN plan to the domination of the Big Three, a small majority in terms of population. This arrangement is absurd and unworkable and undemocratic and dishonest. It is like giving the small state of Rhode Island the same representation in Congress possessed by New York or Texas, but reserving the right of the large and wealthy states to veto Congressional decisions and/or the authority of the Executive to enforce them.

The Charter sets up a Security Council—without power—in which the Big Five are permanent members, and six others are elected from time to time by the Assembly. Each of the Big Five can veto any member state elected by the Assembly, and disciplinary action against itself or one of its satellites or allies. Hence the Big Five—or Three—have turned the Security Council into a closed corporation to consolidate their control over the majority made up of small states. Dr. Herbert V. Evatt of Australia has challenged the right of the big powers to blackball ten nations since the Assembly last met. What happens is that one bloc says to the other, "If you reject the country we support, we will reject the country you support." This means international backstairs intrigue and blackmail.

The idea that Two Worlds revolving around the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. could act unanimously to create international laws, settle disputes, police the world and prevent aggression is a fallacy. If the U. S. A. had a Constitution similar to the UN Charter, and any state could veto decisions of the Federal Government, it would be impossible for New York and Alabama to act unanimously on the most important issues. If any state could secede from the Union, the United States would long ago have become as disunited as is Europe.

In 1789 the thirteen American states experimented with a loose organization such as the UN Charter created, adopted the Articles of Confederation, under which each state was sovereign. This arrangement had to be discarded for a real federal union, giving the National Government authority to make laws and enforce them upon each state and each individual citizen. The same will have to be done with the UN—if eventually, why not now?

This is not the first time in history that the theory of unanimity has proved a failure. In 1653 the liberum veto law was adopted by the Polish Sejm (parliament); any one member could stop the passage of a law by

shouting, "Nie pozwalam" (I do not permit). For two centuries this veto power crippled the government. The only way a law could be passed was by pressuring or threatening the objector—or sometimes by running him through with a sword. That expedient is hardly practicable in the UN, though many delegates have often felt like strangling Gromyko.

Not even the U. S. A. and Britain can always agree and act unanimously. Unanimity has never existed either within or between nations, nor can ever exist except in totalitarian countries, or in an empire dominated by a totalitarian power such as Russia. Even there, while Lange and Tito "agree" with Stalin, the people definitely do not. Unanimity always was a most dangerous pretense and illusion.

In the shadow-boxing going on in the UN commission on the proposed international police force, it is admitted that no force could be created to enforce an adverse decision upon the U. S. A. or the U. S. S. R. if either resorted to aggression. Only the nations in the lightweight category could be knocked out, though not if they had the support of one of the heavyweight powers. And no international police force is likely to be created, under the present Charter, to take over the task of maintaining order in Indonesia, or Greece, or China, or Palestine, or India, pending a decision of the UN on controversies raging there, due partly at least to the bungling and the stupidities of the big colonial powers. But the world's great need is for such a police force to preserve peace. It can come only after a real federal world union is established. You can't have a police force without a government and without laws.

Hence Truman was compelled to bypass the UN in offering aid to Greece and Turkey, in the absence of any world government or international laws or police force or international social contract.

★ ★ ★

There is an armaments race going on. What can the UN do about it? The U. S. A. has proposed to share the secrets of atomic energy if an effective system of control and inspection is first set up; the U. S. S. R. rejects that proposal and will never agree to any inspection behind the iron curtain. In the fact of the threat of the atomic bomb, what can the UN do? In the UN there has been an endless stream of verbiage about guaranteeing independence, civil liberties, fair elections, democracy. But in the Soviet sphere none of these "inalienable" rights exist. What can the UN do about that?

Nor can the UN do anything about Fascism in Spain or Argentina or the senseless bloodshed in so many parts of the earth. Or about the danger of a revival of Nazi militarism and aggression. Nor about communal strife in India. Nor about the imminent trade war for markets. Nor about spiraling inflation throughout the world.

To summarize, the basic reasons that the UN cannot function effectively in solving any of these multiplying problems are that (1) it is not a real world government and cannot be as long as it is paralyzed by the veto and as long as absolute sovereignty is unmodified; (2) it is undemocratic, unrepresentative, and not based on sound principles of federalism; (3) it is based on the domination of the earth by the Big Three; (4) it is organized on the false assumption of unity between the big powers;

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POLAND: VICTIM OF APPEASEMENT

by WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN*

THE Polish people are the flesh-and-blood victims of a policy of appeasing Stalin at any cost, followed during the war by the American and British Governments, to the grave detriment of American and British national interests. Poland entered the unequal struggle against Hitler, all the more unequal because Stalin acted as Hitler's ally and stabbed the Polish armies in the back while they were engaged with the Germans on the front, with specific assurance of British support.

The British Government, as early as March 31, 1939, assured the Polish Government "all support in its power" against aggression. This assurance was broadened and made more specific in the Anglo-Polish Agreement of Mutual Assistance, signed on August 25, 1939. There were no specific United States treaty commitments to Poland. But the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, America's professed war aims, and the principle, often announced by our State, of not recognizing territorial changes brought about by force were certainly compromised by the tragic sequence of events in Poland. These events began with a brutal new partition of Poland between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia and ended with the incorporation of Poland, under an unrepresentative government and most unwillingly, into the ranks of the Russian satellite states. To free Poland and to undo the evil heritage of appeasement, as expressed in the Yalta Agreement, should be a main objective of American policy in Europe.

After the tide of war on the eastern front turned decisively in Russia's favor in 1943 and 1944 the Soviet Government drove forward relentlessly toward the achievement of two objectives in Poland. The first was the imposition on the Polish people of a made-in-Moscow administration, with veteran Comintern agents like Bierut, Radkiewicz, Gomulka and Berman holding key positions. The second was to seal Poland's dependence on Russia by deforming the country's boundaries, taking away the eastern half of the country and giving Poland for the time being German territory in the West. The possibility that this territory may be returned to Germany in a new partition of Poland is a useful carrot for cunning and devious Soviet diplomacy to dangle before the noses of German nationalists.

The realization of Stalin's ambitions at the expense of Poland was greatly aided by the weak appeasement policies of the western democracies. As early as the spring of 1942 the British Government which had urged Poland to enter the war, was apparently willing to give away Poland's eastern provinces as part of the price of Soviet alliance. The United States Government at that time stood firmly by the principles of the Atlantic Charter and successfully opposed this suggestion.

But somehow American political force and influence on the international scene illogically declined as American military power increased. Harry Hopkins and other amateur negotiators who were sent to Moscow seemed to be obsessed with the curious idea that the United States was accepting, not conferring a favor in pouring eleven billion dollars worth of lend-lease munitions, food and supplies into Russia. There was never any attempt to link up these shipments with the observance by the Soviet Government of its moral and legal obligation to respect the political independence and territorial integrity of Poland.

The first definite acquiescence in the territorial mutilation of Poland was given at the Teheran Conference, in the latter part of 1943. After this conference Winston Churchill openly spoke in Parliament in favor of the so-called Curzon line as the eastern frontier of Poland and put strong pressure on the Polish Government to accept this proposal.

Meanwhile President Roosevelt maintained a sphinx-like silence on the subject of Poland. He gave an ostentatiously warm greeting to the Prime Minister of the Polish Government, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, when the latter visited Washington in June, 1944. Roosevelt suggested that by personal intervention with Stalin he could obtain for Poland Lwów and perhaps Wilno. When Mikołajczyk, who took Roosevelt's good faith seriously, raised this question in Moscow in October, Molotov bluntly told him that Roosevelt at Teheran, months before the suggestion about Lwów and Wilno in Washington in June, had accepted the Curzon Line as the Polish frontier. A desperate appeal from Mikołajczyk to Roosevelt remained without reply until the election in November, 1944, was over. When the reply came it was completely noncommittal as to the questions which Mikołajczyk had asked.

Mikołajczyk twice went to Moscow in an effort to reach an honorable agreement with the Soviet leaders. But no such agreement was to be had. On one occasion he asked Churchill what guaranty there would be that the remainder of Poland would remain free if the territory east of the Curzon Line should be ceded to Russia. Churchill assured him of the support of Britain and the United States. But this support, as later events would show, was an extremely weak reed on which to lean.

While pressure on the harassed Polish Government was intensified and backstairs negotiations were preparing the way for the final betrayal of Polish independence at Yalta, the people of Poland gave one last heroic testimonial of their will to be free. This was the Warsaw uprising of August and September, 1944. On the eve of the uprising the Soviet armies were sweeping across the plains of Poland. As they approached the Polish capital and the Vistula River, appeals in Polish from the Moscow radio station poured out. No less than eleven such appeals were monitored in Great Britain and all called for immediate uprising.

Mikołajczyk was in Moscow at that time and Stalin assured him the Red Army would be in Warsaw by August 6. It is against this background that one must judge the decision of the commander of the underground army, General Komorowski (also known under his pseudonym of Bor) to give the signal for an all-out uprising.

At first the revolt was remarkably successful. The Old City area and many public buildings were taken. It was a genuine people's war. A large part of the Warsaw civilian population, men, women, even children joined in.

Every people that took part in the late war has its record of deeds of exceptional heroism. But there was probably no collectively braver action in the course of the whole war than this two months struggle of an imperfectly armed guerrilla army and a largely unarmed civilian population against a powerful German garrison, equipped with airplanes, tanks and artillery. It was the most glorious and most terrible of all Warsaw's uneven

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COMMUNIST BLUE PRINT AND STRUCTURE

by R. H. MARKHAM



SOMETHING is going on in the eastern half of Europe — without some Americans realizing it!

It is the establishing of an unconditional Soviet economic and political system. From the Baltic Sea to northern Greece, Soviet agents and local Communists, following Soviet plans, are imposing Soviet regimes.

This is being carried out according to well established, oft proclaimed plans. The vast Soviet structure is arising on the basis of carefully worked out blue prints. But it is arising so unevenly, and the variegated scaffolding used in the construction is so deceptive that some gullible Americans don't realize what is being built. Other ill-intentioned Americans try to mislead their credulous fellows by asserting that pure democracy is being erected.

The situation in Poland is not exactly the same as in Albania. The development in Bulgaria differs somewhat from that in Hungary. Even Slovakia does not present the same picture as Czechia. But all events fit into a common plan and move toward a common end, complete Sovietization.

The immediate and ultimate purpose is the seizure by the Communists of absolute power. That has been largely attained in Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Complete power has practically been bagged in Rumania and Hungary. In Poland the process of power seizure is slightly slower; in Czechia still slower. But in each case the same final result is sought. Some fish, after being hooked, are harder to land than others; they play a little longer and require a little gentler handling. But in this case the hook is powerful, the line strong, the Soviet fishermen both skilled and ruthless, and the bag is waiting.

The strangest aspect about all this is not that the Soviet Union is sovietizing Eastern Europe, but that Americans should be surprised at it—that some even should deny it. For exactly 100 years the blue print as drawn by Marx has existed. It was accepted by Lenin in 1900 and re-approved in 1917. It was also accepted by Stalin. The III International has proclaimed it 100 times. Among the architects unreservedly accepting it are Bulgaria's Dimitrov, Yugoslavia's Tito, Hungary's Rakosi, Rumania's Gheorghiu-Dej.

The blue print in all its details is found in the New York Public Library, in the Boston Public Library, in Harvard University's Library and probably in a hundred other American libraries. Yet some American intellectuals still don't know what's going on.

Here are some aspects of the process which is being repeated everywhere in Eastern Europe.

At first, weak or innocent or disloyal members of the bourgeoisie are being used by the Communists, but the bourgeoisie as such is being wiped out. That process is being completed as inexorably as a farmer butchers, or sells for butchering, his fattened hogs. The Communists look upon the bourgeoisie as good Christians upon sin.

All socialists willing to be used as Communist tools, are also being used—to hasten Communist domination.

Reuben Henry Markham, foreign correspondent, writer and lecturer, was born in Smith County, Kansas, in 1887. B.D. degree, Union Theological Seminary, 1911; M.A. Columbia University, 1912.

Since 1912 R. H. Markham spent most of his time in Bulgaria, teaching in Mission schools and as foreign correspondent for American and British press. Because of his vigorous opposition to the brutal persecution of workers and peasants by fascist-like regime, he was obliged to resign from the Mission in 1925. He continued to work in Bulgaria as free lance writer.

A foreign correspondent, intimately acquainted with Eastern Europe and regular contributor to the New Leader, he was expelled in June 1946 by the Russians from Rumania and all Soviet dominated lands.

Mr. Markham lectured extensively and is the author of: Siromashki Hadjiluk (A Poor Man's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem) 1924; Bulgaria of Today and Tomorrow (In Bulgarian) 1925; Meet Bulgaria, 1931; Wave of the Past, 1941; Tito's Imperial Communism, 1947.

Some socialists in Eastern Europe are being employed by the Communists as Janissaries and eunuchs were used by Oriental despots. Naturally, the Communists in certain cases let their socialist retainers strut about, spout, beat their breasts, wave flags and flash medals, pretending they wield power.

This is a sad and disgraceful role for socialists. But those Eastern Europeans are caught in the middle and deserve some commiseration. However, free Americans who laud the role of Eastern European socialist apostates deserve only scorn.

The peasants in all Eastern European lands are being deprived of independence. They are being enslaved as has not been the case for 200 years—even under sultans and czars. All independent peasant organizations are being annihilated. Effective peasant ownership of land or the fruits of toil is being wiped out. Peasants follow the bourgeoisie and the socialists into the Communist Gehenna, where there's unspeakable weeping and gnashing of teeth.

All workers—including white collared employees and professional men and women—are being forced into state labor unions, deprived of freedom and used as instruments of almighty Politburos. The speed-up for toilers is being pressed everywhere. This "scab" practice is one of the main aspects of the Communist religion. The "scab" Soviet Union is imposing "scab" regimes upon the workers of half of Europe.

A new "Soviet man" — male and female — is being molded. Narrow minded, strong muscled, loud mouthed, blindly fanatical, he destroys the basis of philosophy, art, poetry, religion and the finest human emotions. He is the opponent of "the new man," which the Jewish prophets and Jesus tried to create. He is a half human, mass automaton.

The "Soviet man" is a man worshipper. He makes gods of Tito, Stalin, Dimitrov, Hoxha. He worships matter, muscles, machines, production lines. The theater, ballet, vast spectacles, sport, are the opium which the Soviet leaders give this new Soviet man. Not since the worship of Egyptian men-gods has human dignity been more debased than with the "Soviet man."

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POLAND

by DOROTHY

We take pleasure in publishing the following fragment of an article, dealing with the so-called "land reform" in Poland, by the famous American journalist, Dorothy Thompson. Miss Thompson visited Poland recently and described the conditions there in a long report, other parts of which we hope to bring out soon.

—EDITOR

IN 1947

THOMPSON

falling into ruin. The claim that these houses are used for agricultural schools, orphanages or other social purposes is supported only by a handful of showplaces.

With livestock, equipment and tools destroyed or stolen, it made little sense to divide the land among the peasants. The land reform touted by Warsaw propaganda is in practice a tragic fraud. Some land was distributed to the so-called "small peasants," artisans and workers who already had tiny plots for subsistence farming. But actually the estates I saw were operating under the same contracts that had been obtained in the old days. The individual peasant realized no change of status—his landlord now is a bureaucrat in Warsaw, his overseer an official agent—except that he has lost the right to strike or protest.

Wherever possible I tried to visit estates which I had known before the war, in order to make personal comparisons. One of these, some 50 kilometers from Poznan, was a model farm in 1936 when I was last there. The landlord, a passionately enthusiastic agronomist, had developed the estate along scientific lines, with high yields per acre, high earning and living standards for his peasants. It was a busy, happy place.

SHOWDOWN IN THE U. N. ASSEMBLY OR CRISIS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

(Continued from page 3)

(5) it refuses to recognize the ugly fact that we have Two Worlds, not One, and that Soviet Russia and her world are bent upon world conquest just as much as was Nazi Germany, and hence does not desire stability, peace, prosperity in the democratic world, but chaos, conflict, depression, paralysis, civil war, world revolution. The framers of the UN Charter refused to believe that Soviet Russia will remain a partner only as long as the Communists can utilize the veto as a weapon to further Stalin's vaulting ambitions, to prevent other nations from progress toward peace and prosperity. The UN as presently constituted serves Soviet Russia's plan for conquest and does not serve the purpose of the democratic world.

I am not advocating the destruction of the UN, but its transformation into an effective instrument for preserving peace. But you do not start to build an automobile by building a buggy.

Although Soviet Russia bears most of the responsibility for the pending collapse of the UN, it would not be workable even if Communism and Fascism could be abolished from the face of the earth. The UN would still be incapable of settling serious conflicts even between democratic nations. The veto power would still cripple it.

It does no good to insist that the UN must succeed because it is our only hope. Such dependence upon the UN is as futile as was the hope that the old League could somehow be made to work. The beginning of wisdom is in calling things by their right names. The UN is not united, and it is not now an instrument of peace any more than the old League or the Kellogg Pact or the Holy Alliance. It serves Russia's purposes and not ours. It stands in the way of building a bloc, an alliance of all nations that actually are peace-loving and democratic, a federation of non-imperialist nations against the threat of continuing Soviet expansion, a union to resist the cold war, the war of nerves, that Stalin has launched against us. It is silly to parrot the phrase, "We must get along with Russia in the UN; we must have unity." We can get along with Communism only if we firmly oppose it with a dynamic, democratic, progressive

Now I found that the Russians had wrecked the manor house and other structures and carried off everything to the last chicken. Restocked by UNRRA, the farm was again in operation. Though employing 50 percent more labor, it was producing 50 percent less than before the war—this according to the government agents in charge. No change whatever has been made in contracts with the peasants. Now as then they are paid largely in kind—grain, milk, potatoes—plus a small cash bonus. They complained bitterly about the worthlessness of their money. As for the former landlord, he is in prison for the "crime" of having been in touch with persons in the London government-in-exile. Thus the new regime has eliminated at once a burning Polish patriot and one of the country's best agriculturists.

Independent peasants everywhere and always are stubborn in their refusal to deliver food except in return for real values. In Poland they are selling their produce on the black or "free" market. The authorities are not yet strong enough to force the situation, and the result is chaos in food distribution. There seems to be little doubt that the government will have to resort to state-managed collectives, like the Soviet regime under analogous circumstances.



They taste raw milk for the first time in their lives. Picture taken recently in Polish Pomerania.

WHEN the Kremlin was allowed to install "provisional" governments of its own making in neighboring countries, it obtained in effect the right to remodel those countries in its own image. The notion that any government can remain "provisional" for more than a few weeks is pure myth, because it ignores the nature of power and the means by which power is entrenched. Poland, I found on a visit to that nation, demonstrates this fact with startling clarity.

In nearly two years of existence, the "provisional" government of Poland won representation in the United Nations; accepted the eastern frontiers of the country and by unilateral action with the Soviet Government and army also set the frontiers in the west, driving out the Germans and moving in Poles; established its totalitarian police force; changed the economic structure of the nation and purged the influence of the ruling class; seized the bulk of the press and publishing business as well as control of the newspaper and magazine distribution system; entered into economic agreements with other countries and into special economic compacts with the Soviet Union which are secret; and won and used \$450,000,000 worth of UNRRA supplies not without political considerations.

In short, the government puts over a "revolution" from the top down as effectively as if it were permanent rather than "provisional."

The character of that revolution requires some analysis. A sympathetic American observer called it a "new form of state, neither capitalist nor communist." But there is nothing "new" about it. He overlooked the initial stage of national bolshevism in Russia, when mensheviks and social revolutionaries shared the "bloc" regime, and the NEP phase of Soviet economy. Poland today recalls those transitional forms, which therefore point the likely direction of its further evolution.

All industries employing more than 50 persons have been or will be nationalized; small industry and merchandising remain as private enterprise. Labor unions are under state control and the right to strike has been abrogated; striking or agitation to strike carries a prison sentence of 10 to 15 years.

All landed estates of more than 247 acres have been totally expropriated, including residences and their contents down to the last sheet or spoon. Proprietors of smaller estates are allowed to keep up to 123 acres.

The "land reform" is class legislation of the crassest sort. Its effect has been utterly to crush the Polish nobility, not only as landowners but as persons and citizens, without improving the lot of the peasant. There is a lot of demagoguery in the claim, made to me by President Bierut, that the process follows the pattern of the French revolution. The situation is in no way comparable with 18th century France. The Polish people did not rise against a landed oligarchy, but a very unpopular government aided by a foreign army carried out the rising in their name.

Indeed there was no such oligarchy to be overthrown.

FOLKLORE IN SIENKIEWICZ'S FAMOUS TRILOGY

by ANTHONY J. KLANCAR

JUST as Reymont's *The Peasants* is a veritable encyclopedia of peasant life in nineteenth-century Poland, so Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical trilogy *With Fire and Sword*, *The Deluge*, and *Pan Michael* is a treasure-house of the life and times of Polish *szlachta* (the landed gentry). More specifically, the Trilogy is a national epic of a heroic period in Poland's turbulent history. Following in the tradition of Walter Scott, the Polish novelist uses all the devices which characterize a period novel.

Thus we have many references to the vampire, a phenomenon constantly in the minds of peoples in bygone days. Sienkiewicz uses the vampire motif to create an atmosphere of fear and terror, of all the evil that existed in the Sicz (Seetch), the scene of his novels. Most of these references to the vampire revolve about the Cossack guardsmen on duty in the lonely stanitsas of the Wilderness. Used as a device to create atmosphere in the particular domain of the witch Horpyna, the vampire is the personification of evil affecting the lives of man and beast in the Cossack territory.

Beliefs in omens are used to heighten the reader's interest in the mental life of all sorts of characters, sketched individually or as a group. People believed, for instance, that a disaster or the death of a king was presaged by a moon redder than usual or other nighttime reflections in the sky. Rumors among the superstitious spread rapidly that when Prince Yeremi and Hmelnitski would meet "the sun would be darkened and the water in all rivers run red." Pan Yan has a bad omen: "When we sat by the fire two stars fell. Who knows, maybe one of them is mine." Another time he and Helena are together in a cherry orchard, they hear a cuckoo in a dark oak grove nearby, and Pan Yan asks: "Good cuckoo, how many years shall I live in marriage with this lady?" The cuckoo begins to call, and counts fifty and more. "God grant it!" Yan exclaims and Helena remarks, "The cuckoo always tells the truth." Such beliefs were the common stock of thought for all classes of people in the olden times. Sienkiewicz's use of these touches as a means of characterization is a constant source of delight and relief from the great battle scene.

A whole series of beliefs is put in the mouth of Zagloba, Sienkiewicz's lovable, fun-loving Falstaffian character, around whom most of the real fun in the Trilogy is centered. I have often suspected that Pan Zagloba takes especial delight in parroting popular beliefs and telling tall tales.

Zagloba explains Bogun's and his own weakness for women through a bit of 17th century astrology (WFS, 205):

... It must be that you were born in May, which is the month of Venus, in which there is so much sweetness in the air that even one shaving begins to feel an affection for another; therefore men who are born in that month have greater curiosity in their bones for women than other men."

It is interesting to note that other beliefs are put in the mouth of another old soldier, Sergeant Soroka, who plays an important role in *The Deluge*, and in a wonderful passage gives a soldier's idea of Death.



Henryk Sienkiewicz. Detail of statue by Konstanty Laszczka, erected in the city of Bydgoszcz, Poland.

answered the German. 'What!' exclaimed the Creator; 'do you say "Pferd" to my work? But you will never ride on this creature, you lubber!—or if you do, you will ride like a fool.' Having said this, the Lord made a present of the horse to the Pole. This is why the Polish cavalry is the best. Then the Germans began to hurry after the Lord on foot and to beg forgiveness of him, and that is why the Germans have become the best infantry."

Zagloba tells another tall-tale "of that fisherman who played on the flute to the fish so that they might dance, and when they would not, he pulled them on shore, then they began to jump around, and he fell to striking them with a stick, crying 'Oh, such daughters! you ought to have danced when I begged you to do so!'"

Many expressions in Sienkiewicz are proverbs and proverbial expressions. I give here a few examples taken from each novel: "A Cossack's word is not smoke" or "A noble's word is not smoke," "A cat should be a hunter, and a man a talker," "The stupid win, the wise



Polish Nobleman of the Seventeenth Century. The original of this portrait was painted on the end of a coffin.

Old Soroka tells his listeners of beliefs expressed in many Slavic animal tales or legends.

In relating these stories, Soroka plays the part of story-teller, reassuring the young recruits in his command and the peasant foot-soldiers, who demand a popular belief as an explanation for the events transpiring at the cloister of Chenstohova.

There are stories of another type which one is at a loss how to place. Are they the creations of the novelist's own imagination or the product of the folk mind? Zagloba is telling Pan Podbiplienta why in Poland there is better cavalry and among the Germans better infantry (WFS, 353):

"This is why: When the Lord God created the horse he brought him before men, so that they should praise his works. And on the bank stood a German, for the Germans are always pushing themselves everywhere. The Lord God showed the horse to the German, and asked: 'What is this?' 'Pferd!'

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perish," "The nurse hasn't washed his bib, the cat has drunk his milk, and his cup is broken," "We were all looking for the poppyseed in the bottom of the bushel," "Where there is no freedom there is no happiness," "A great person a Radzivil!", "Pitch does not stick to a garment like evil fame to a man," "The Cossack caught the Tartar, and the Tartar is holding him by the head," "As I wind her, so will she play." A great many of these sayings are Pan Zagloba's philosophical reaction to a dangerous or humorous situation in which he and the hero of the novel find themselves. These add flavor to his conversation, making it the most delightful portion of the entire Trilogy.

All these elements help create the tremendously interesting milieu of the three novels. What makes *With Fire and Sword* a far better novel than *The Deluge* and *Pan Michael* are just these folklore elements. However the best example of Sienkiewicz's genius as a literary artist appears in the way he handles the proverb and proverbial material, some examples of which we have already given above. Most of the proverbs occur in *With Fire and Sword*, the least number in *Pan Michael* which is an adventure story with a minimum of folklore material. By the time Sienkiewicz got to writing the third volume of his Trilogy, he must have felt that atmosphere and characterization through devices mentioned above were no longer necessary to the success of his story. What is important in *Pan Michael* is a fast-moving plot against the background already created in the previous two novels, so that there is little material of interest to the student of folk elements in this last novel.

I list here some of my favorite proverbs, scattered throughout the Trilogy: "What is done quickly is done in the devil's fashion," "Small war, small glory," "To whom life is heavy the earth will be light," "Either master or monk," "Do not poke your nose into another man's purse," "It is a fool who refuses when a wise man offers," "They sowed in tears, and reaped in joy," and "Blood is not water."

Many of the proverbs are the common folk heritage of all the Slavs. Two such proverbs are: "As you makest thy bed, so wilt thou sleep" (Comp. Slovenc: "As you make your bed, so must you lie in it") and "A Guest in the house is

God in the house" (Comp. Slovenc: "Guest in the house, God in the house"). These proverbs form part of the ordinary speech of Sienkiewicz's characters, chief among them Pan Zagloba, the personification of Polish wit and humor, the embodiment of the national character of Poland. Who else in the novels could be made to say such delightful philosophies as "It is rightly said that the heart is a volunteer; under whatever banner it wants to serve, under that it serves." Or the delicious bon mot: "When there is nothing in the stomach, we have peas and cabbage for brains." Or this bit: "It's a foolish hound that runs after his own tail, for he will not catch it and will not smell anything honorable." But Pan Zagloba is also a man of parts, and we find him quoting Latin proverbs as well: "And even now one would like to taste war, for *consuetudo altera natura*" and "Out of one hundred men one might return from such an undertaking; but *audaces fortuna iuvat*."

Sienkiewicz shows great skill in the use of folklore materials, particularly the proverb, and a great deal may be learned about the Polish folk mind from a reading of his historical novels. For a completer study of this fascinating subject one would have to use the original Polish texts, and not Jeremiah Curtin's translations, as I have used in this brief study.



Stanislaw Zolkiewski, Polish Hetman, died at Cecora, 1620. Zolkiewski personified the highest virtues of a 17th century ideal of soldier and leader. Stained glass window by Michal Borucinski.

ACUTE FOOD SHORTAGE IN POLAND

by B. PALL

The fifth paragraph in the above article in THE POLISH REVIEW of September 15, 1947 (Vol. VII, No. 7), should read as follows: "It would almost seem that during the five days between the action of the House and of the Senate on foreign relief funds, someone in the State Department found too ridiculous the charge that Poland had not opposed the Soviet Union, hence a new motive for refusing relief funds to Poland had to be put on the record. The motive was found in the report of Col. R. L. Harrison, special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture."

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 171, September 16, 1947

600 WEST 115th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE YUGO-SLAVIAN SITUATION R. H. Markham's new book, *Tito's Imperial Communism* (University of North Carolina Press, price \$4.00), deserves the widest possible reading. The author's long residence in the Balkans, his active interest in the life of the people, his ability to talk with them without the aid of an interpreter, his high integrity are some of the factors making him the outstanding authority today on certain aspects of Balkan life. But in this volume you have more than just a presentation of the Yugoslav problem. You have a vivid portrayal of the way Communism develops from nothing at all to a power that holds a nation in its grip. Mr. Markham writes as he talks, with an earnestness and vividness that holds attention. A book to be read and pondered and recommended.

Concerning Greece, one of the best articles I have seen was written by the highly-regarded Polish journalist, Kazimierz Smogorzewski, for *Wiadomości* (London), after a visit to Greece where he had extraordinary opportunities to familiarize himself with the entire problem. Here are some of the facts the article brings out: The Greek Communists had accepted arms to be used against the Germans but according to Churchill had remained inactive, waiting for the time when they could reach for power and make Greece a Communist state; after the failure to seize power in December 1944, there was an agreement by which the Communists were to surrender arms. However, in keeping with Lenin's teachings, this agreement was only a tactical manoeuvre—the best of the arms were ordered loaded on mules and taken into the mountains and some 25,000 fighters were directed to make their way in small groups to the northern frontiers and cross into Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In places—names given—in all three of these neighboring countries these fighters were further trained by Soviet officers.

After the Greek elections, these trained guerrillas were sent back in small groups to definite objectives in northern Greece. The Greek army staff knew about this movement but because of the length and character of the frontier could not prevent it, having to content themselves with protecting the larger communities. By so doing, the Communists were, however, prevented from setting up a Greek "Lublin Government," and proceeding as they had done in Poland. Yet 20 or so mountain localities had been taken by them, making the map of Greece, to use Smogorzewski's figure, resemble a Swiss cheese—the holes being the Communist-held spots, which made an interior "front" of over 1,000 miles, held by roughly 13,000 Communists. Manifestly the small Greek Army could not cope with such a length of front, but in a 1947 spring offensive it did inflict losses in killed on the rebels amounting to one-third of the fighters trained north of the frontier with slight losses in government ranks. These dead fighters cannot be replaced with Greek recruits, as the Communists well know. If the struggle for Soviet control of Greece is to continue with arms, the international brigade, which is definitely stated to be on Yugoslav territory, will have to be used. That would precipitate conflict on a greater scale; and in the opinion of this Polish journalist, Stalin is too clever to permit that move.

A RIGA RADIO BROADCAST in Latvian, June 29, 1947, was a lecture on the "Powerful and Progressive Force of the Soviet Union." The following sentences are taken from it: "The Soviet Union alone is a genuine commonwealth of nations. In the capitalist countries production had only increased by 30% as compared with 1913, in the USSR it had increased by 1200% during the same period of time. World reaction tries to combat the Soviets both economically and politically. But even in 1944 the USSR was strong enough singlehanded to crush the imperialism of Germany and Japan. Our strength caused the second front to be established in 1944, lest the Soviet Army alone liberate the entire West. The party of Lenin and Stalin is the center of the progressive world . . . Unfortunately the idolatry of things Western has not yet been entirely extirpated in our country. It must never be forgotten that Western culture is the servant of reactionary ideas and that its character is purely decadent."

In Lithuania "kolkhoz" (collective farm) is reported to be a forbidden term. Anyone using it is liable to arrest and imprisonment. Instead, Lithuanian terms meaning "auxiliary State farm" or "co-operative farm" are approved. The peasants fear the establishment of these almost as they fear deportation. The produce and labor quotas demanded of the farmers are extremely burdensome, in addition to which there are numerous "voluntary" contributions, the needs of the farmer's family getting no consideration. Farmers must supply horses and wagons for transportation and hauling and report on demand for selling and hauling timber. Failure to fill the quotas means prison. Absolutely every enterprise is under party control, with Russian "accountants" and "inspectors." There are all sorts of "orgs"—Partorg (Communist Party organizer), Profsorg (labor union organizer), Komsorg (Communist Youth organizer), who is referred to by the Lithuanians as "kiemsargis" (janitor). The latest contributions to "Lithuanian" literature, as recently announced consist of 4 books by Stalin, 10,200-20,000 copies of each, and one each by Kalinin, Genkina, and Myshakova, 15,000-40,000 copies. All deal with Communism and the Soviet Union except Kalinin's which is entitled, "The Lithuanian People on the New Road," which likewise is Communist.

IN POLAND the "reforms" introduced into the schools at the beginning of this month, and the Krakow trial where 9 accused were sentenced to death and several others received long prison terms are specially worthy of comment. The Soviet plan to get control of children and youth has always been part of the puppet program for Poland, and, as noted in earlier issues of this letter, activities in that direction have been in progress from the beginning. But not until this autumn has the regime been in a position to force its will upon the schools. From now on, however, the teaching of Communist ideals, under the guise of democracy, is to be an integral part of the Polish educational program. Kill or place in forced labor camps all Poles who might be leaders of an opposition; destroy the influence of the family by giving the state control of the child from the nursery through the university—provided he is permitted to attend a university; destroy the church's influence—and Communism wins. Time and abandonment by the West work for the Bolsheviks.

The trial of the 17 men at Krakow was in no sense a

dispensation of justice but a long-planned political manoeuvre. The accused had been in prison for months, undergoing the customary Soviet preparation of prisoners for trial. Tortured mentally and physically, when put on the stand they could only respond as the months of "investigation" had prepared them. Thus they have been made to appear as weak and incompetent men and the organizations of which they were members have been—so the puppet regime hopes—discredited in the eyes of the Polish people. Those organizations are the underground, the Polish Peasant Party, the Jagiellon University, the Catholic Church.

Attacks on Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party have been of daily occurrence for many months; heavy sentences for leaders of that party who were among the accused were expected. The accusations against the university professors and the sentences given open a new chapter in the regime's terror tactics, although attacks on university teaching have indicated that those institutions would soon be brought under the regime's control. The day approaches when all Polish learning and teaching must serve the Communist cause. Implication of priests closely associated with Cardinal Sapieha point to a strengthened move against the Catholic Church; hitherto the fearless Cardinal has not been interfered with and any accusation that is likely to involve him will certainly arouse the Polish people, who rightly look upon him as one of their greatest living figures.

Two further points should be noted, perhaps the chief points. America and Britain are strongly attacked. They are, after all, the villains in the piece. That is understandable. It is absolutely necessary to the Soviet program that the Polish people be made to believe the West "imperialistic," seeking only its own gain, and that Poland's future must be tied to the USSR. In connection with this trial in Poland, recall the trial of the Bulgarian Petkov and the charges against him, and the amazing trial of 24 Albanians in Tirana, charged with a plot to overthrow the Hoxha regime, and contact with American and British diplomats. The New York Times dispatch states that "All statements made by the accused were said to have been extracted through torture by the Albanian political police."

Lastly, the Krakow trial is regarded as a prelude to the arrest and trial of Mikolajczyk. In the testimony produced he was linked with the underground organizations and with supplying information to the British and Americans. But testimony is of small moment. The Communists intend to get rid of him—as all Poles acquainted with Moscow knew at the time Mikolajczyk agreed to work with the puppets would in due course happen. With the Polish Peasant Party leader gone, the fake socialists swallowed up by the Polish Workers (Communist) Party—which has recently undergone a thorough purge, dropping opportunists and lukewarm adherents whose support was for a time necessary—power will lie unopposed in the hands of the Moscow stooges.

Rumania, according to information given by a Swedish businessman (Newsletter from behind the Iron Curtain), is using 85% of its land and sea transport to send reparations or exports to the USSR, or in the service of the Red Army. Through mixed Russian-Rumanian companies Moscow controls Rumanian economy. "Sovrumbank" does the bulk of the banking business, "Sovrumpetrol" controls about one-third of the oil industry. Sovrumentransport" has a 30 years lease on the installations, warehouses, elevators, and all such equipment in the important Black Sea and Danube River ports. This concern also has a branch which controls land transport. "Tars" controls and will exploit civil aviation for the next 30 years, and the Rumanian Government is bound to erect new airfields wherever "Tars" specifies. These are sam-

ples of the mixed Soviet-Rumanian control, and more and more such enterprises are arising, where there is equal representation but where no Rumanian dares lift his voice in opposition to a Russian proposal. One or two years of this and Rumanians say Rumania will be incorporated into the Soviet economic system.

MOSCOW, asserts Stalin, is a "model for the capitals of the world . . . one of the grave cankers of the big capitals of European, Asiatic, and American countries is the presence of slums where millions of impoverished people are doomed to a dull existence and a slow and painful death." Moscow, according to Stalin, has no slums(!). The whole speech, delivered on the anniversary of the founding of Moscow puts Ananias and Saphira to shame. And while on the subject of Stalin as the prince of liars I want to quote a paragraph from John Dewey's review of "Forced Labor in Soviet Russia" (Dallin-Nicolaevsky): "One is unable to decide whether the ruthless disregard of human life and well-being, or the equally systematic conversion of idealism into the greatest exhibition of hypocrisy the world has ever seen, is the more repulsive aspect of that profound moral humiliation of man which is the official regime of Russia in the world today."

Vishinsky can hold his own, too, when it comes to lying. Report has it that the British Ambassador in Moscow went to Vishinsky, protesting the calumnia of England in the new Soviet film, "Stalingrad." Vishinsky listened, sympathized with the Britisher, but answered: "Unfortunately we are not able to do anything about it. The Soviet Government gives Russian writers, artists, and newspaper people complete freedom. We cannot control their views or hamper their creative activity . . ."

The Ukrainian Quarterly (Spring-Summer 1947) contains among other things an interesting review of a new History of the USSR, edited by the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The reviewer first calls attention to an article written several years ago by Stalin on the subject of "How to write the History of the USSR," in which "he advised historians to talk about all the territories which since the most ancient times formed part of the USSR. Consequently in the new history of the USSR we find part of the history of ancient Assyria, Persia and other countries, because parts of those ancient empires now are included in the USSR. In this fashion the whole history of the USSR is written and published as a school manual and for private study." The work consists of 3 large volumes, and as is to be expected, is not only designed to play its part in the political education of Soviet youth, but reflects the whole Soviet policy. The facts of history are changed to fit Marxian doctrine or Soviet plans and policies.

WE HAVE DAILY PROOF that for immorality and hypocrisy the Moscow Government has no equal. The world has learned that those things of which the Soviets accuse others, they themselves have done, habitually do, or intend soon to do. There are people in America, and in Western Europe, who feel that we must make the best of things and let Russia keep all it has taken, failing to understand that Red Imperialism will recognize no frontiers. They are wiser and more moral who "refuse to accept actuality and fight for what does not now exist and which seems impossible of attainment." There is ample evidence that we in America are regarded as "capitalists" and therefore an "enemy" of the Soviet Union. Will we lead in forming a true United Nations, which will include all the peoples of the world, if not their governments? Pericles speaks to us as he spoke to the Athenians: "For you now it remains . . . not idly to stand aside from the enemy's onset."

STAMPS OF THE POLISH

by ALEXANDER

AMONG many aspects of the Polish war against Germany, the battle of stamps has received only an occasional mention, though a whole chapter in the history of the war could be written on the subject. The philatelic exhibition in Cairo in 1944 with the award of the second prize for a collection of Polish POW stamps drew the attention of many stamp fans to a unique institution, founded by Polish war prisoners in Germany: the camp post offices. The Poles set a precedent, establishing a monopoly for camp postal services for the prisoners of World War II in four officers' camps in the Reich. The camps, constituting miniature towns with a varied cultural and social life all their own, were large enough to justify setting up their own post offices. Thus, in the Woldenberg POW Officers' Camp (Oflag II C), the idea of opening postal service materialized on March 18, 1942, and the prisoners issued their own first stamp on April 14, 1942. As there was no interrelation between the camps, independent initiatives produced similar results in three other officers' camps: Oflags II D at Grossborn, II E at Neu-Brandenburg and VII A at Murnau, each developing its own style of stamps. Numerous difficulties had to be overcome, including that of German censorship.

Proceeds from the operation of the camp post offices were intended for funds for POW widows and orphans in the Woldenberg and Grossborn camps; in Murnau, for instance, the post office did not accept money, but swapped the stamps for food or tobacco, which was given to the camp hospital.

Outstanding artists, of whom there were many among the prisoners, designed the blocks from which the stamps were printed. These were all woodcuts, with the exception of one engraved copper block. However, real difficulties were encountered in getting suitable paper to print the stamps on. To this end paper shavings, wrapping paper, edges of German newspapers, cigarette wrappings, and even (in the Murnau camp) toilet paper were used. It was not till later that the International Red Cross and the YMCA helped out by providing the right kind of paper.

Considering the unfavorable conditions under which these stamps were published, their fine artistic quality is short of remarkable. A strict account of the printings was kept and the blocks destroyed later, and so we are now able to ascertain the number of stamps printed in each issue, which is given in a Woldenberg catalog published recently in Poland.

A catalog published recently in England* informs us that the first stamp issues were printed with ordinary painting oils, which accounts for the great variety of shades on some of the stamps, but that later on printer's ink was obtained from Poland, which naturally made a vast difference in the reproduction. The printing was of necessity done on rather primitive hand presses, constructed by the prisoners themselves. At first the stamps



Stamps of the Polish prisoner of war camps from the author's own collection.

had to be printed singly, later on in blocks of four, which were then cut with scissors. In the Woldenberg Camp the paper was neither gummed nor perforated; in Grossborn the stamps were both gummed and perforated; in Murnau they were perforated quite primitively with a toothed watch wheel.

Considering the unfavorable conditions under which these stamps were published, their fine artistic quality is short of remarkable. A strict account of the printings was kept and the blocks destroyed later, and so we are now able to ascertain the number of stamps printed in each issue, which is given in a Woldenberg catalog published recently in Poland.

Forty officers worked at the post office in Grossborn, and the yearly income from its work reached the sum of 50,000 marks turned over to charitable causes. Such was the success of certain issues that the prisoners bought rare items at the price of fifty cigarettes a stamp, which in POW money represented a fantastic sum.

*Polish Post—Seven Years War—The Bristol Stamp Co.

PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

JANTA

Special occasions, such as January 22, 1943, the 80th anniversary of the National Rising of 1863 against Tsarist oppression, for example, or the 400th anniversary of the death of Copernicus, the Polish astronomer, were honored by issuing stamps in miniature sheet form with appropriate ornaments at the top of the sheet, and in limited quantity only. Soon these became prize items among the POW collectors, whose number grew rapidly, for the hobby of stamp collecting became to the camp inmates one of the many ways of escaping from their monotonous day to day existence. Red Cross and YMCA workers as well as some of the German guards caught the stamp collecting fever, and this probably is one of the reasons why the German authorities looked so tolerantly upon the operation of these camp post offices.

On January 25, 1945, Oflag II C was evacuated, and all postal activities ceased. Before the onrush of the Russian armies, the whole camp was marched on foot to Hamburg, where it entrained for Oflag VII in Murnau. The prisoners, who were jealously holding on to their few possessions, including their POW stamp collections, made this journey in appalling conditions. Some, grown indifferent to material values, threw away their collections in an effort to lighten their load. Many of the stamps were ruined by perspiration and rain. That is why the Woldenberg issues, although printed in sufficient quantities, have become scarce.

The survivors of this march, having settled down in the new camp, reorganized their postal services. They issued three stamps in line-cut, commemorating their terrible 682 mile-long march from Woldenberg to Murnau.

Camp post offices made their own postmarks for cancellation of the stamps. They were of wood or rubber, though rubber was hard to get. In Murnau, for instance, an old rubber shoe provided the raw material for the cancellation mark. Some of them have beautiful designs and are highly valued among collectors. As in the case of stamps, each postmark had a meaning, each was intended to commemorate a national anniversary or a local celebration, for example, the camp Olympic games, or the Philatelic Exhibition, or the Quadracentennial of the death of Copernicus and so on.

In addition to their philatelic value for collectors, the POW stamp issues illustrate also the unconquerable spirit of the prisoners. Many of the stamps had a hidden significance, like dates which could have a meaning only for Poles versed in their country's history. All of them were a demonstration on a small scale of their national and patriotic feelings. Taking into consideration the circumstances under which they were issued, it is no exaggeration to state that they constitute one of the most unique documents, both from the philatelic and the historical points of view, to have come out of the last war.

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(Continued from page 5)

COMMUNIST BLUE PRINT AND STRUCTURE

To achieve all this, the Soviet Union and its devotees are imposing complete totalitarianism in the whole of Eastern Europe. This means they control—or are steadily moving toward control of—the army, the police, courts, jobs, food, houses, schools, the press, the radio, play and every form of individual and social expression. They hold—or are laying their hands on—the keys of every door through which men and women walk toward freedom and a decent human life. Scorning angel robes, pie in the sky, the golden mansions they promise store clothes and bread and bathrooms. But they don't deliver! They leave men in rags and hovels with not even enough bread.

The stage of development is slightly different in

Poland from that in Montenegro, but the system is basically the same, moving toward the same totalitarianism.

Men who wish to fool themselves may say that the Mississippi doesn't flow to the sea or that the evening sun doesn't give way to darkness. But such self-deceived men don't change facts.

Moscow-directed world Communism is swallowing up all of Eastern Europe and no talk about vestigial appearances of democracy or freedom, still glowing in some places, will change that fact.

America must base its world policy on a sovietized Eastern Europe, which is designed to be a step toward a sovietized world.

POLAND: VICTIM OF APPEASEMENT

(Continued from page 4)

fights for freedom. In the end the city was almost completely destroyed, block by block. Tens of thousands of people lost their lives. The remnants of Komorowski's forces surrendered after they had exhausted their last reserves of ammunition, food-stuffs and medical supplies.

The sudden stopping of the Russian advance after the outbreak of the uprising and the Soviet refusal for weeks to permit American and British airplanes to use nearby Soviet air bases in order to support the insurgents raises the suspicion that the Soviet rulers deliberately provoked the revolt with promises of support which was never forthcoming in order to destroy a large part of Poland's patriotic underground fighters.

The climax of appeasement was reached at the Yalta conference of the Big Three in February, 1945. The Chinese observe the anniversary of a date when their government accepted oppressive demands by Japan as national humiliation day. The anniversary of the signature of the Yalta Agreement, February 11, should be observed as a national humiliation day in America and Britain.

The war was professedly being fought for the self-determination of all peoples. The Polish people had been fighting on the anti-Nazi side from the first day of the war. Yet none who spoke for the Polish people was even admitted to a conference which made vitally important decisions about Poland's boundaries and form of government. The representative Polish government in London which had acted as a loyal ally throughout the war, which enjoyed the support of almost all Poles and people of Polish origin who could express a free opinion, was brushed aside as nonexistent. The large part of Poland which lay to the east of the so-called Curzon Line was assigned to Russia without any consultation of the wishes of the inhabitants. The Red Quisling regime in

Poland which existed only by virtue of Soviet bayonets was provisionally recognized, with the face-saving declaration that it should be reorganized, with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government was to be pledged "to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot."

The Yalta Agreement is completely indefensible on any moral grounds. It was a crude violation of the ideals and principles of American foreign policy. The argument that the Yalta terms had to be signed because otherwise Stalin might have quit the war in a huff will not stand a moment's serious examination. Stalin needed our aid much more than we needed his. Had the western democracies stood firm on the Atlantic Charter and made it clear that they would recognize no government except the legitimate one in London until free elections could be held in Poland the Soviet dictator would, in all probability, have come to a reasonable agreement.

It was the weakness of the democracies that encouraged the Soviet rulers to violate, almost from the moment it was signed, the promises in the Yalta Agreement about free and unfettered elections. Patriotic leaders of the Polish underground were treacherously arrested after they emerged from hiding under safe conduct. The election, when it was finally held in January, 1947 was a fraudulent farce.

Blatant Soviet disregard for the Yalta Agreement has destroyed any moral validity it might have had for the American people. Twice Americans had shed their blood for wars which started in Eastern Europe, one in Serbia, one in Poland. We cannot, in national self interest, be indifferent to what happens in that part of the world. We must strive for a free Poland as an integral part of a free Europe.

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